

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 7271

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR

SUBJECT: UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN CYPRUS COMMENST ON
ANKARA AND ATHENS CONSULTATIONS

1. SUMMARY. DURING AN INFORMAL LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE AMBASSADOR ON SATURDAY (JULY 17), UNSYG WALDHEIM'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN CYPRUS, AMBASSADOR JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR DISCUSSED CONFIDENTIALLY THE RESULTS OF HIS RECENT INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATIONS WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL IN ANKARA AND WITH GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER DIMITRI BITSIOS IN ATHENS. HE EXPRESSED GUARDED OPTIMISM AS A CONSEQUENCE OF HIS TALK WITH CAGLAYANGIL SINCE THE TURKISH POSITION APPEARED TO HIM TO BE LESS RIGID THAN PREVIOUSLY. PROCEDURALLY, CAGLAYANGIL ASSURED DE CUELLAR THAT THE TURKS WOULD BE WILLING TO ATTEND SHOULD WALDHEIM CONVENE THE NEXT ROUND OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN VIENNA. THE TURKS WOULD NOT INSIST ON GREEK GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION IF THE TALKS WERE THEN REFERRED TO MIXED COMMISSIONS OF EXPERTS. SUBSTANTIVELY, CAGLAYANGIL SAID THE TURKS WOULD BE PREPARED AT THE MIXED COMMISSION LEVEL "TO NEGOTIATE TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS" AS WELL AS CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES. DE CUELLAR SAW THIS READINESS "TO NEGOTIATE TERRITORY" AS A SMALL BUT IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD FROM DENKTASH'S PREVIOUS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS
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TO DISCUSS ONLY "BOUNDARY READJUSTMENTS", HOWEVER, THE

UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED IN BITSIOS' UNRESPONSIVE ATTITUDE. HE CLAIMED THAT MAKARIOS AND THE GREEKS MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT TIME IS RUNNING AGAINST THEM ON CYPRUS AND THEIR SUPPORT IN THE UN IS ERODING. HE, HIMSELF, WAS UNDECIDED AT THIS POINT WHETHER OR NOT TO RECOMMEND TO WALDHEIM THAT THE UNSYG RECONVENE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR SAID HE IS CONSIDERING THE IDEA OF SUGGESTING CONVOKING THE TALKS UNDER HIS OWN AUSPICES SO THAT, SHOULD THERE BE NO PROGRESS, RECOURSE TO WALDHEIM WOULD STILL BE AN ALTERNATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING AN INFORMAL LUNCHEON, ON JULY 17 AT THE RESIDENCE, AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS ON A "COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS" THE RESULTS OF HIS RECENT INDEPENDENT CONSULTATIONS WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL AND GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS. HE CAME AWAY FROM TURKEY WITH "GUARDED OPTIMISM", COMMENTED DE CUELLAR. THE TURKISH POSITION SEEMED TO HAVE EVOLVED TO A MORE FLEXIBLE LEVEL ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECONVENING OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. THE TURKS AGREED TO ATTEND IF WALDHEIM WOULD HOLD THE TALKS IN VIENNA, BUT THEY WOULD NOT GO TO NEW YORK. FURTHERMORE, THE TURKS HAD YIELDED ON THEIR PRIOR INSISTENCE THAT THE GREEKS BE PRESENT AT THE "MIXED COMMISSION OF EXPERTS" (A TERM HE PREFERRED FOR WHAT IS COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE "SUB-COMMITTEES"), ALTHOUGH THE TURKS SAID THEIR EXPERTS WOULD NOT, OF COURSE, BE PRESENT IF THE GREEK EXPERTS WERE ABSENT. WHILE CAGLAYANGIL TOLD DE CUELLAR THE TURKS WOULD BE PREPARED TO TALK ONLY ABOUT "CRITERIA" ON TERRITORIAL ISSUES AT THE ONAN-PAPADOPOULOS LEVEL, AND WOULD NOT PRESENT ANY TERRITORIAL MAP OF THEIR OWN, WHEN THE TALKS SHIFTED TO THE LEVEL OF THE "MIXED COMMISSION OF EXPERTS" THE TURKS WOULD BE READY "TO NEGOTIATE TERRITORIAL ISSUES" AS WELL AS CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS. AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR COMMENTED THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT, IN HIS OPINION, REPRESENTED A SMALL-- BUT SIGNIFICANTLY IMPORTANT--ADVANCE IN THE TURKISH POSITION OVER DENKTASH'S PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED POSITION

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THAT THERE COULD BE "SOME BORDER READJUSTMENTS". THE SHIFT CONSTITUTED THE PRIMARY BASIS FOR HIS OWN "GUARDED OPTISM", SAID DE CUELLAR.

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, DE CUELLAR COMPLAINED THAT HIS JULY 16 LUNCHEON MEETING WITH THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN DISCOURAGING. BITSIOS HAD BEEN MOST NON-COMMITTAL CONCERNING DE CUELLAR'S APPROACH ON RESUMING

THE BILATERAL TALKS. BITSIOS INDICATED THAT THE GOG
WOULD FULLY BACK THE GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION, BUT THAT ANY
INITIATIVES WERE STRICTLY UP TO ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS.
NOTING THE TURKS WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS ONLY
TERRITORIAL "CRITERIA" AND WOULD NOT PROFER MAPS OF
THEIR OWN AT THE NEXT SESSION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL
TALKS, THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER LET IT BE KNOWN THAT
HE WAS SKEPTICAL THAT MUCH WOULD BE ACHIEVED. ACCORDING
TO DE CUELLAR, BITSIOS ATTRIBUTED THE TURKISH WILLINGNESS
TO ATTEND THE NEXT TALKS AS BEING A PLOY AIMED AT
CREATING A MORE FAVORABLE CLIMATE IN THE U.S. CONGRESS
FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE U.S.-TURKISH DCA.
BITSIOS'
COMMENT WAS SIMPLY, "LET US SEE," SAID THE DISAPPOINTED
DE CUELLAR, WHO HAD EXPECTED SOMEWHAT MORE FROM HIS OLD
ACQUAINTANCE OF PAST WHEN BOTH SERVED TOGETHER IN THE UN.

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EXDIS

4. AS A RESULT THE INCONCLUSIVE RESULTS OF HIS
ANKARA-ATHENS CONSULTATIONS, DE CUELLAR SAID HE WAS,
AT THIS POINT, UNDECIDED WHETHER OR NOT HE WOULD
RECOMMEND TO UNSYG WALDHEIM THAT THE LATTER CALL FOR A
NEW ROUND OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. WALDHEIM WAS
RELUCTANT TO RISK HIS OWN PRESTIGE AND REPUTATION--
AS WELL AS OF THE UN--BY CALLING FOR THE TALKS
WITHOUT SOME DEGREE OF ASSURANCE THERE WOULD BE A MEASURE
OF POSITIVE RESULTS. ALSO, THERE WERE SOME WHO FELT

THAT IF THE NEXT (THE SIXTH) SESSION OF TALKS WAS A FAILURE, THERE MIGHT WELL NOT BE A SEVENTH. GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR TASSOS PAPADOPOULOS WAS NOT OF THE SAME CALIBER AS HIS PREDECESSOR, GLAFKOS CLERIDES, CONTINUED DE CUELLAR. HE LACKED THE BREADTH AND SCOPE OF CLERIDES AND HAD ALREADY TOLD DE CUELLAR THAT HE WOULD DENOUNCE THE NEXT ROUND OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IF NO PROGRESS WERE MADE. PAPADOPOULOS HAD SAID HE WOULD CRITICIZE NEITHER THE UN NOR WALDHEIM, BUT WOULD NOT TOLERATE THE TURKS CONTINUING THE CHARADE OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WITHOUT RESULTS. FOR THESE REASONS, DE CUELLAR CONSIDERED AS AN INTERESTING POSSIBILITY THE IDEA THAT HE, HIMSELF, MIGHT CONVOKE THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS. IF IT SHOULD FAIL, THEN THERE WOULD STILL BE THE ALTERNATIVE OF RESORTING TO SECRETARY WALDHEIM. AS TO TIMING SHOULD HE DECIDE TO RECOMMEND A NEXT CONFIDENTIAL

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ROUND, DE CUELLAR OPINED THAT EITHER THE FIRST OR LATTER PART OF AUGUST WOULD BE BEST SINCE THE COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE WOULD OCCUPY THE MID-AUGUST PERIOD. HE WAS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT THE POSSIBLE SAILING OF THE TURKISH SEISMIC VESSEL SISMİK I MIGHT PRESENT DIFFICULTIES FOR THE GREEK SIDE AND CREATE VERY REAL IMPEDIMENTS TO THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

5. IN CONCLUSION, AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR NOTED THAT IT WOULD APPEAR ONLY THE U.S., THE EC-9 AND THE UN WERE GENUINELY CONCERNED WITH FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION. IT WAS QUESTIONABLE THAT TURKEY OR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, AS THE STRONGER AND HOLDING AN ADVANTAGE POSITION (THE DE FACTO STATUS QUO), WERE EAGER TO SEE A QUICK RESOLUTION, ESPECIALLY IF IT MEANT SOME REAL CONCESSIONS ON THEIR PART. DENKTASH WAS SUCCESSFULLY PURSUING HIS OWN POLICIES IN THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ZONE WITHOUT ANY INTERCOMMUNAL AGREEMENT. THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WAS IN TOO PRECARIOUS A SITUATION TO MAKE MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS UPON WHICH THE DOMESTIC OPPOSITION COULD SEIZE. AS FOR THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, DE CUELLAR SURMISED THAT MAKARIOS FELT TIME WAS ON HIS SIDE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ARCHBISHOP RELISHED THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE HE WAS ABLE TO PLAY WHILE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS UNSETTLED AND WAS IN NO HURRY TO RELINQUISH IT. BUT, DE CUELLAR ARGUED, THE GREEKS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS ARE IN ERROR--TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR THEM AND THEY MUST BE CONVINCED THAT THEY NO LONGER CAN SUSTAIN OVERWHELMING WORLD OPINION IN THEIR FAVOR. TURKEY IS A MOSLEM NATION AND IS RECEIVING GROWING SUPPORT FROM MEMBERS OF THE ARAB WORLD. GREECE CAN NO LONGER "ISOLATE" TURKEY. THE UN IS GROWING TIRED

OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION AND THE GREEKS ARE LOSING SUPPORT
THERE, HE SAID. THE GREEKS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS MUST BE
MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR SUPPORT IS WANING AND THAT
IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO HAVE AN EARLIER RATHER THAN A
LATER SETTLEMENT, CONCLUDED DE CUELLAR.
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